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854 Fathers are also seen handling and playing with babies, and often refer to their young offspring with pride. Despite these patterns of good infant care and unstinted attention to the [865] baby, occasional instances were observed where mothers slapped or roughly shook restless and fretful year old babies.

856 Unless the expected course of maturation fails to appear, parents manifest only casual interest in promoting an infant's development. Occasionally a mother will seek to support a young baby in an upright position. Only once were parents seen walking while supporting a fifteen month old between them. The removal of the half-year old child from the baby pack or from tightly bound blankets also affords the child an opportunity to develop through exercise. While the appearance of the first teeth is noted by parents, little attention is focussed on this phase of development. No attempt is made to discourage finger sucking nor is this behavior much manifested by babies. Attitudes toward infantile sexuality were not observed or reported. In its early years, of course, a baby, being closely bound and heavily diapered, has little opportunity to explore its genitals.

Childhood

856 The transition from infancy to childhood among the Kaska is informally recognized as occurring at between three and four years of age, when the child becomes "half smart." As is customary in child study, we shall anticipate this transition somewhat and refer to childhood as that period of life which follows shortly after the infant has taken its first steps and which terminates with the onset of puberty.

863 Although the first attention to sphincter control comes between one and two years of age, it is never harshly introduced at this time nor is it seriously expected to take hold so early. At that time, especially if it is summer, diaper cloths are abandoned and the mother begins to take the child with her when she goes into the bush for her own needs. Verbal explanation and encouragement are little used while the child is so young. As explained by one mother of six children, the toddler is expected to wet himself. "That time he wet his pants. Pretty soon I take him to toilet. Pretty soon he tell me." Scolding was denied. "I never say nothing. He learn himself." In summer the eighteen month to two year old child is allowed to play without pants or with pants (or bloomers) in which a long slit has been cut in the crotch. This device permits him to eliminate without soiling his clothes. Another practice is to don the child's moccasins as soon as he wakes in the morning and send him outside the house to urinate. Ideally parents also recognize the advantage of preventing the youngster from drinking any liquids during the hours immediately preceding bedtime.

No serious notice is taken of wetting or soiling before two and a half or three years of age. Even four years is sometimes tolerantly regarded as too early an age at which to demand complete cleanliness training, and often children continue to wet at night until this age. Generally, however, the child is expected to be trained at three and from then on begins to be scolded for daytime failures. "Look you dirty boy," Dorothy Plover said to three year old David before she changed him, "You dirty your pants." Some parents also introduce spanking at this time to enforce sphincter control. When enuresis occurs in older children, the sleeping place of the child may be padded with moss which is discarded every morning. Together with learning habits of sphincter control, the child also acquires certain attitudes

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toward the excreta. The strongest attitudes of disgust are directed toward the feces, which are regarded as "dirty" and repulsive.

The development of childhood is accompanied by a definite change in the care which the infant has been accustomed to receive from its mother. This aspect of the parent-child relationship, whose characteristics will now be described, may be defined as withdrawing from the child his principal source of affective gratification. The pattern is not to be confused with direct rejection; the child continues to be loved passively and cared for in the family. What occurs is an emotional withdrawal of the mother, who in infancy was the chief source of affective stimulation. The mother becomes less responsive to the child's demands, less eager in her attention, more remote and disinterested in her appreciation. Stated positively, the mother becomes more concerned with herself than with the child, or, if there is now a younger sibling, more preoccupied with the infant than with the lap baby.

If the emotional rejection is correlated with the birth of a sibling it often has its initiation at about eighteen months, when the child is beginning to toddle. However, children often nurse until they are two years old, so that generally the mother does not begin to withdraw in her affective relationship until the youngster is between two and three. The process is both a gradual and an unconsciously motivated one. Its behavioral manifestations are many. For example, the child's crying is no longer responded to with the spontaneous attention that this behavior earned in infancy. "Don't cry for nothing!" the mother sharply scolds, as she continues with her work. Fretting for attention, which begins to appear in the two year old, is less tolerated, and the mother reprimands the child for clinging to her garments or body. For long journeys, children continue to be packed up to four or five years of age but around camp fretful demands to be carried and cuddled go ignored. Stella Wiley was exceedingly passive with two year old Laura. One time Laura was observed to crawl into her mother's lap. Stella accepted the child without any demonstration of interest. On another occasion Laura was clinging to her mother's skirts, whining and crying "mama." Stella continued placidly smoking and talking to her sisters, as though unaware of any distraction. Comfort is often withheld even if the child is hurt or frightened. Four year old Marie Lang had been vaccinated and came out of the mission crying. She ran to her grandmother, Mrs. Man. The latter made no direct effort to comfort her. For a few moments the girl sat quietly alongside the woman. Then she began to cry anew and threw her head into Mrs. Man's lap. Fleetingly the latter put her hand close to the child's head. Then she was distracted and turned to scold a noisy boy who was playing too close. Marie continued to sob loudly but Mrs. Man remained passive and unattentive.

Mildred Lang is in many respects one of the warmest women in the community.[*] Waiting for a ride at the Highway crossing her adopted daughter, Ann Wiley, started to fall asleep. She leaned her head on Mildred's arm. The latter shoved the child's head away saying: "Oh, go away you." Ann then leaned her head on a bridge girder and dozed. By the time a child is five or six years old, a clearly defined pattern may be observed in which comfort is no longer sought from the mother. The child has learned to endure pain by itself. Now children are sometimes seen weeping in solitude and sucking the first two or three

[*] She was warmly regarded by her nephew, Harry Lang, whose care she undertook for many years. See Harry Lang's autobiographical sketch below, pp. 230–233.

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gradual, but by six the child is already able to cover ten or more miles with these travel aids. Children begin to feed themselves at about three years of age.

No effort is made to give a child sex instruction, and since people rarely discuss sexual topics, children are limited in the information which they may acquire about this subject. Sexual prohibitions are explained obliquely and with many euphemisms, so that the prevailing attitude toward sex as something highly personal and restricted cannot fail to be transmitted. On the other hand, some awareness of sexuality may be gained when a child loiters in the mixed company of adolescents and unmarried young people, who engage in sexual teasing and sometimes make threats or references without regard for the presence of youngsters. Since parents and children sleep in the same dwelling room, it is likely that children are early exposed to sexual activities, the meaning of which is not explained. When adults are intoxicated there is also a relaxation of sexual taboos from which youngsters are not protected. A sense of modesty begins to be inculcated in the child when he is three or four years old, and children of that age will not urinate or defecate in the presence of other people. Now the mother also warns a child of any indecent exposure in a public place.

Some effort is indirectly or directly made to inculcate induration to pain, fatigue, and cold. Young children of five and six are often required to walk up to fifteen miles with parents who are bound for a trap line or hunting place. Minor ailments are seldom regarded as an excuse for delaying such journeys. In winter some parents directly advise an older child not to try to keep his hands warm all the time but to get used to having the fingers "half frozen." In that way, it is explained, they will become better able to withstand cold. Children are also warned of the dangers present in the environment when the temperature is very low; for example they are taught that in such temperatures the bare fingers or mouth must never touch metal.

With regard to formal education, most of the parents are ready to send their children to summer mission school and, at least in early years, try to insist on such attendance. Schooling is not valued for opportunities which it opens for the child, but rather for the advantages it offers parents. Commenting on his grandson's education, River Joe expressed this attitude when he said: "Me boss that kid . . . I raise him. Learn something, be good for me that way." The school in Lower Post follows a leisurely program of instruction. Counting and reading occupy a fractional place in the curriculum, which also attempts to teach religion, values of cleanliness and hard work, and even includes the teaching of French and English folksongs.

In 1945 the mission, in conjunction with the Indian Affairs Branch, sent eight children ranging from five to twelve years old to a Catholic boarding school at Grouard, Alberta, 700 miles south of Lower Post. Here they will receive two years of education. Heretofore such outside education has been limited to one or two youths going to the mission boarding school at Lejac, on the Pacific Coast.[9] The value of such short term education is, of course, limited. Richard Day and Harry Lang, who were both educated in boarding schools, are capable of simple writing with poor spelling. In Harry, education also contributed to some dissatisfaction with the limited stimulation of Lower Post.

Many young children, from four to eight, express relatively little animation or spon-

[9] The school was built with Government funds and is taught by nuns. See Carroll, *The Vicariate of Prince Rupert* (1946), 14-15.

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155 Into An Owl," to point out the manner in which this tale served to express Old Man's
X 181 personality conflicts. Now we turn to another function of this tale, seeing it as the projection of emotional rejection and a representation of the mother pictured as a deceiver. The story also indicates a certain equivalence between the husband-wife and parent-child relationships. The girl's mother, taking the wife's place, symbolizes the equivalence of the maternal and wifely roles. Unconsciously, husbands are children fed by their mothers. They are dependent on wives as they were dependent on the maternal care in infancy, but in the tale the mother reveals her deceitfulness and must be punished. Similar unconscious ideas may also be at the root of the aggression which men direct against women during intoxication, and also in the rejection of the breasts as erotic stimuli in sexual situations. A similar story of a deceitful wife is found in "The Blind Old Man," in which the man again kills the mother equivalent. In "A Tribe of Women" we see represented a flight from parents and the discovery of new mothers. When the younger brother allows himself to be killed by these women he gives into a regressive wish to be incorporated by the mother and attains his passive goal by being buried in the women's camp. That men should be indicated in these tales as experiencing somewhat greater frustration from emotional rejection than women can perhaps be partly explained in terms of the girl's greater opportunities to repair the wound of rejection. This will be discussed below in connection with identifications and childhood activities.

155 The grizzly bear fantasy may be regarded as another example of a projective system re-
X 181 peating the child's terror upon encountering emotional rejection. The mother is here repre-
855 sented (familiarly, as far as western clinical practice is concerned) in a large and dangerous animal against which the person feels powerless. It is not coincidental that another function of this fantasy is to express the anxiety which girls feel in the face of sexual situations, whose intensity threatens to break down the emotional isolation adopted as a defense against rejection.

155 *Parental attitudes and authority.* Parental authority plays a relatively slight and non-
X 181 traumatic role in the Kaska child's life. Attitudes toward toilet training are not severe and
861 sphincter regulation is not seriously expected before the child possesses the capacities for voluntary control. Punishment is rare and generally limited to situations of defaulting while overprotection has no soil in which to grow. There is an absence of authoritarian supervision such as would emphasize the child's humiliation and complete submission to his parents. Native education is also characterized by this lack of authoritarianism; little effort is made to specifically direct the child's assimilation of cultural routines and in a great deal of learning children are left to work out their own answers to problems. In general, the child grows up easily and independently and with a large amount of freedom from supervision and authority. What are the consequences of these patterns for Kaska personality?

155 In the first place, we note that sphincter training is not severe and therefore is not a
X 181 situation in which parental disciplines can frustrate the child's capacities. Integrated as it is
● 863 with other parental attitudes, toilet training is conducive to developing a sense of independence and personal responsibility. The absence of severe discipline or authoritarian attitudes therefore lends to the oedipal situation a flavor of permissiveness. The child's individuality is respected and no sense of blind obedience is ever imposed. Among the most

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155 181X 863

important results of these patterns are the development of deference, egocentricity, and flexibility.

155 181X 865

Deference is directly learned from the injunctions of parents warning children against aggression but is also indirectly assimilated in the absence of a frustrating and authoritarian oedipal situation. Following the child's emotional rejection, no new blocks or frustrations are set in the path of the developing ego, although it cannot be denied that the personality continues to carry the memory of this trauma whose anxieties continue to interfere with the richest development of ego functions. Kaska parents, therefore, do not demand submission and self-abnegation which in an authoritarian climate may undermine self-esteem and engender hostility.[83] In the absence of such instigations to hostility, the positive lessons of parents against aggression can take a firm hold. This learning, it must be pointed out, further takes place in a personality whose emotional expressiveness, because of the emotionally isolating tendencies of the parents, is not being strongly stimulated. Positive injunctions to deference are therefore uncontested by alien forces or labile emotionality. The picture may be characterized as one of introversive isolation, and it is in such a restrictive setting that the tendencies of egocentricity, emotional isolation, and deference become intensified. The nonauthoritarian parents influence the adoption of a religious view lacking a stern, authoritarian, nondeferent deity such as might be traced back to a harsh parental image.

155 181X 866

The previously achieved degree of ego tonicity is maintained by the fact that shame and ridicule are not used as disciplinary measure. In the absence of a strongly inculcated sense of duty and obedience, the child, to a considerable extent, decides his own course of behavior against the introjected standards of his group. This does not imply failure to teach the child what is expected of him. The emphasis in such teaching, however, is to preserve the child's initiative, an effect that is further aided by the absence of constant adult watchfulness, supervision, or overprotection. The Kaska child finds this freedom to develop responsibility and independence congenial, perceiving the value of these attitudes as defenses against the traumatic effects of emotional rejection and regressive dependence. He gradually drops the overt forms of a compulsive search for love and is better off than he would be in a society that not only patterned a withdrawal of affection but also prevented the development of egocentric attitudes. The expressed fear lest a child be "pleased" too much (that is, lest the child be spoiled) may be understood as a desire to avoid inordinate permissiveness. Apparently it is not rare for permissiveness to be carried to extremes. On the other hand, it must be recognized that some parents exercise closer supervision and stricter discipline than is generally approved of.

155 181X 867

The lack of strong parental direction and the fact that the child is left to learn many cultural routines for himself have consequences not only in further preventing the formation of a strong superego (based on the parental image) but in encouraging resourcefulness and self-sufficiency. They also make any idea of submission distasteful in later life. Such encouragement would be of little avail without the good infantile care which originally prepared the ego to exercise forms of active mastery. Early necessity for resourcefulness, in providing the emotional readiness to invent problem solutions, plays a large role in developing the

[83] See Preston, *Self-abuse and Self-love* (1939), 314; Schilder, *Goals and Desires of Man* (1942), 49-50; Levy, *Hate as a Disease* (1943), 377-378.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
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the youngster. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents. This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.[3]

For a year and a half or two years the moss bag served for carrying the baby. In this container he could also be hung from the lower branches of a tree and rocked. Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a knee-length dress or coat, a moose-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy followed the achievement of cleanliness training. Before verbal instruction in the use of the bush came to be given, toileting habits were inculcated with the aid of a moss-lined bark vessel. In summer a child who had been released from the moss bag slept in a cradle swing. In winter for greater protection against cold he passed the night alongside his mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking and the "black dirt" collecting on the surface of the baby's palm was regarded as "baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger and thumb. With the tooth she then described a circle on the crown of the child's head, repeating the formula, "Rabbit tooth, rabbit tooth." The rite promoted the rapid duplication of the lost organ. The extracted tooth ended up cached in the split of a dead tree. If it were discarded on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong places. Young children amused themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were often decorated with charcoal or animal blood designs; buzz toys, twirled on rawhide lines, and simple swings. Dolls did not constitute playthings.

Kaska parents did not neglect disciplining in the event of a child failing to take over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent, although manifestly the mother exerted more authority because she was in constant interaction with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time, a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body wastes was also inculcated. Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together in the bush but children of opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of intimacy. Lying brought about whipping, while truthfulness won praise for its magical association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet and whipped on her legs. Only women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his son for theft. A child of either sex who stole might have an awl point pressed against the fingers or ears. A too aggressive boy received whippings with a length of braided babiche. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become cowardly when he matured. Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual curiosity met the warning, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A masturbator's hands were whipped with a willow switch.

Sex typing received serious attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to accompany his father hunting and so learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and became familiar with the habits of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

[3] Teknonymy has been reported for the Tlingit. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 37.